

## Message Text

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NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 IO-10

SAJ-01 ACDA-05 SAM-01 EB-07 TRSE-00 OMB-01 /084 W

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4277

INFO USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMCONSUL BREMEN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 18405

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR GE UR

SUBJECT: ANALYSIS OF SOVIET-GDR TREATY

REFS: (A) STATE 263690; (B) BONN 16673

BEGIN SUMMARY. IN TRIPARTITE DISCUSSIONS, US, UK AND FRENCH BONN GROUP REPS HAVE CONSIDERED IT PREFERABLE TO TRY TO REACH AN ALLIED AGREEMENT ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE OCTOBER 7 SOVIET-GDR TREATY BEFORE ATTEMPTING TO MEET THE FRG REQUEST FOR AN AGREED BONN GROUP ANALYSIS (REF B). SET OUT BELOW IS THE TEXT OF AN ANALYSIS WHICH THE EMBASSY HAS PREPARED AS A BASIS FOR TRIPARTITE DISCUSSION. WE ARE PASSING COPIES TO THE FRENCH AND  
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UK REPS NOVEMBER 10.

OUR ANALYSIS IS ESSENTIALLY IN ACCORD WITH THAT IN REF (A) (WHICH WAS RECEIVED AFTER EMBASSY ANALYSIS WAS DRAFTED) IN ITS DISCUSSION OF THE EXPANSION OF WARSAW PACT TREATY OBLIGATIONS. GIVEN THE FOCUS IN THE BONN GROUP ON BERLIN AND INNER-GERMAN QUESTIONS, WE HAVE TREATED IN MORE DETAIL THAN THE DEPARTMENT THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TREATY AS AN ENDORSEMENT OF THE GDR'S POLICY OF "ABGRENZUNG," AS MANIFESTED BY THE OMISSION FROM THE NEW TREATY OF REFERENCES TO A PEACE TREATY AND EVENTUAL GERMAN REUNIFICATION. WE CONCLUDE THAT IN RETURN FOR THE GDR'S COMMITMENT TO DEEPENING ITS RELATIONS WITH THE USSR, THE SOVIET UNION HAS INDIRECTLY ENDORSED THE GDR'S POLICY OF ABGRENZUNG. WE WILL REPORT FRENCH AND BRITISH REACTIONS AS THEY DEVELOP. END SUMMARY.

BEGIN TEXT

ANALYSIS OF THE OCTOBER 7, 1975  
GDR/USSR TREATY

THE OCTOBER 7, 1975 TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP, COOPERATION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE BETWEEN THE GDR AND THE USSR IS CHARACTERIZED BY TWO BASIC THEMES: (A) THE GDR'S COMMITMENT TO DEEPEN COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION WITH THE USSR IN THE FOUR INTERRELATED FIELDS OF IDEOLOGY, POLITICS, ECONOMICS AND DEFENSE, AND (B) THE INDIRECT ASSERTION OF THE GDR'S SOVEREIGN EQUALITY AND PERMANENCE IN THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS. THE INTENDED IMPACT OF THE TREATY UPON BERLIN APPEARS TO BE INCIDENTAL TO THESE THEMES. THE TREATY MAY ALSO BE INTENDED TO PROVIDE A MODEL FOR OTHER SOVIET-EAST EUROPEAN TREATIES BY SETTING BENCH-MARK COMMITMENTS OF INTEGRATION AND COOPERATION.

IDEOLOGICAL COOPERATION

IN TERMS OF IDEOLOGY, THE GDR IMPLICITLY ACCEPTS THE VALIDITY OF THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE IN THE PREAMBLE  
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AND ARTICLE 4 BY ENDORSING THE "JOINT INTERNATIONALIST DUTY" OF PROTECTING AND DEFENDING "THE HISTORIC ACHIEVEMENTS OF SOCIALISM." THE UNUSUALLY SERVILE SPEECH MADE BY HONECKER TO THE CPSU IN THE KREMLIN ON OCTOBER 6 SEEMS TO UNDERSCORE THE GDR'S COMMITMENT TO THE SOVIET INTERPRETATION OF FRATERNAL INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM.

GENERAL POLITICAL COOPERATION

IN THE POLITICAL FIELD, ARTICLE 9 OF THE OCTOBER 7  
TREATY REPRESENTS A NEW ELEMENT IN POLITICAL COOPERATION  
NOT FOUND IN EITHER THE 1955 OR 1964 TREATIES. PERHAPS,  
THE CALL FOR COORDINATION AND CONSULTATION  
ON "IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS" STEMS FROM  
THE GDR'S NEWLY-ACQUIRED MEMBERSHIP IN INTERNATIONAL  
FORA.

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POLITICAL COOPERATION WITH RESPECT TO BERLIN

ARTICLE 7 OF THE OCTOBER 7 TREATY IS CLEARLY

ANOTHER AREA WHERE THE CONTRACTING PARTIES HAVE AGREED TO COOPERATE POLITICALLY. WHEREAS THE INCOMPLETE AND MISLEADING PARAPHRASE OF THE QA IS APPARENTLY INTENDED TO EQUATE FRG/WEST BERLIN TIES WITH USSR AND GDR RELATIONS WITH THE CITY, IT IS ALSO CLEAR THAT BERLIN IS TREATED MORE DELICATELY THAN IN THE 1964 TREATY. THERE IS NO REFERENCE TO WEST BERLIN AS AN "INDEPENDENT POLITICAL UNIT" AS IN ARTICLE 6 OF THE 1964 TREATY, NOR DOES A JOINT COMMUNIQUE STATE THAT WEST BERLIN "IS IN THE CENTER OF THE GDR AND LIES ON ITS TERRITORY" AS WAS THE CASE IN 1964. FURTHERMORE, IN AN APPARENT EFFORT  
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TO AVOID GIVING THE ALLIES AND THE FRG GROUNDS ON WHICH TO PROTEST, ARTICLE 7 OF THE OCTOBER 7 TREATY REFERS SIMPLY TO THE QA OF SEPTEMBER 3, 1971 -- NOT TO THE "QA ON WEST BERLIN."

#### ECONOMIC COOPERATION

WITH RESPECT TO ECONOMIC COOPERATION, IT IS APPARENT THAT GDR/USSR RELATIONS ARE EXPECTED TO BE EVEN CLOSER THAN IN THE PAST. THE LANGUAGE IN ARTICLE 2 OF THE OCTOBER 7 TREATY IS MUCH STRONGER THAN THE COMPARABLE ARTICLE OF THE 1964 TREATY. THE OCTOBER 7 TREATY STATES THE "PARTIES WILL UNITE THEIR EFFORTS" AND WORK "IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTIVES OF SOCIALIST ECONOMIC INTEGRATION," WHEREAS ARTICLE 8 OF THE 1964 TREATY SPEAKS OF "MUTUAL ADVANTAGE AND UNSELFISH FRATERNAL COOPERATION" IN ORDER TO "DEVELOP AND CONSOLIDATE IN EVERY WAY" GDR/USSR RELATIONS.

FURTHERMORE, THE ROLE OF COMECON AS A PRINCIPAL INSTRUMENT FOR COORDINATING ECONOMIC ACTIVITY SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN STRENGTHENED. THE 1964 TREATY (ARTICLE 8) PLEDGES ECONOMIC COOPERATION "IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE COUNCIL OF MUTUAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE" AND CALLS FOR THE COORDINATION OF NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLANS "IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST DIVISION OF LABOR."

ARTICLE 2 OF THE 1975 TREATY SEEMS TO PLACE A HIGHER PREMIUM ON COMECON. THE REFERENCE TO "SOCIALIST DIVISION OF LABOR" IS DROPPED, AND THE STRENGTHENING AND EXPANSION OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION IS TO BE DONE "IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTIVES OF SOCIALIST ECONOMIC INTEGRATION." MOREOVER, THE 1975 REFERENCE TO COOPERATION WITHIN THE "FRAMEWORK" OF COMECON IMPLIES A COMMITMENT TO UTILIZE COMECON'S INSTITUTIONS, A COMMITMENT WHICH WAS LACKING IN THE 1964

TREATY.

MILITARY COOPERATION

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IN THE FIELD OF MILITARY COOPERATION, ARTICLES 5 AND 8 OF THE OCTOBER 7 TREATY FOLLOW THE LINE TAKEN BY THE BULGARIANS, HUNGARIANS, ROMANIANS AND CZECHOSLOVAKS IN RECENT TREATIES WITH THE USSR. THE PARTIES PLEDGE TO ASSIST EACH OTHER IN THE EVENT OF AN ATTACK BY "ANY STATE" INSTEAD OF RESTRICTING THE COMMITMENT TO EUROPE AS WAS THE CASE IN THE 1964 TREATY (ARTICLE 5).

THE PERMANENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY OF THE GDR

THE SECOND MAJOR THEME OF THE OCTOBER 7 TREATY, THAT WHICH INDIRECTLY ASSERTS THE GDR'S CLAIM TO SOVEREIGN EQUALITY AND PERMANENCE IN THE WORLD COMMUNITY, CAN BE SEEN AS MUCH BY WHAT THE TREATY FAILS TO SAY AS BY WHAT IT ACTUALLY CONTAINS. UNLIKE THE 1955 AND 1964 TREATIES, THE NEW TREATY CONTAINS NO MENTION OF (A) GERMAN UNITY, (B) FOUR POWER RIGHTS IN GERMANY AND (C) THE NEED FOR A FINAL GERMAN PEACE TREATY. THESE OMISSIONS CAN BE SEEN AS A FURTHER MEANS FOR ADVANCING THE GDR OBJECTIVE OF "ABGRENZUNG" AND, HENCE, ESTABLISHING ITSELF AS A PERMANENT FIXTURE IN WORLD AFFAIRS.

MOREOVER, THE PREAMBLE OF THE OCTOBER 7 TREATY NOTES "THE FACT THAT THE GDR ... HAS BECOME, AS A SOVEREIGN, INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST STATE, A FULL MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS," I.E. A POLITICAL ENTITY RECOGNIZED AS TOTALLY SEPARATE, COMPLETE, AND

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LEGITIMATE. ARTICLE 6 UNDERSCORES THE PERMANENCE OF THIS DEVELOPMENT BY CALLING "THE INVIOABILITY OF STATE FRONTIERS IN EUROPE THE MOST IMPORTANT PRECONDITION FOR SAFEGUARDING EUROPEAN SECURITY;" THIS ARTICLE ALSO POINTEDLY CONTAINS THE WORDS "INCLUDING THE FRONTIERS BETWEEN THE GDR AND FRG." THE POSSIBILITY OF PEACEFUL CHANGES IN BORDERS IS NOT MENTIONED.

THE TRADE-OFF

IN SUM, IT APPEARS THAT IN RETURN FOR THE GDR'S WHOLEHEARTED COMMITMENT TO DEEPENING ITS RELATIONS WITH THE USSR ACROSS-THE-BOARD (THEME ONE), THE SOVIET UNION HAS INDIRECTLY ENDORSED  
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THE GDR'S DESIRES FOR POLITICAL SUPPORT VIS-A-VIS THE FRG BY BLESSING SEVERAL STATEMENTS AND NON-STATEMENTS TIED TO ABGRENZUNG (THEME TWO). WHILE THIS HARDLY SIGNIFIES A CHANGE IN THE RECENT POLICIES OF EITHER THE GDR OR USSR, IT NEVERTHELESS REPRESENTS A MAJOR EFFORT TO SOLIDIFY THE STATUS QUO.

THE OCTOBER 7 TREATY ALSO COMPLETES THE FORMAL TRANSITION OF THE USSR TO A POLICY OF ANNOUNCING THE

FINALITY OF THE DIVISION OF GERMANY. THE 1955 TREATY -- FOLLOWING THE CALL OF THE GENEVA SUMMIT FOR A RENEWED EFFORT TO PROMOTE REUNIFICATION -- WAS ANNOUNCED AS A STEP WHICH WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO A SETTLEMENT OF THE GERMAN QUESTION VIA A PEACE TREATY AND REUNIFICATION. THE 1964 TREATY ALSO CITED A PEACE TREATY AND GERMAN UNITY AS GOALS OF THE GDR AND THE SOVIET UNION. ONE PRACTICAL REASON FOR THE NEW TREATY, THEREFORE, WAS THE NEED TO DROP FROM THE RECORD THESE OUTDATED AIMS. THE GDR HAD ALREADY DONE SO INTERNALLY BY MEANS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES INSTITUTED A YEAR AGO. THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON THE OCCASION OF THE SIGNING OF THE OCTOBER 7 TREATY MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE SOVIET UNION ACCEPTS THE CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES IMPLEMENTED BY THE GDR, AND ASSERTED THAT THE PARTIES TO THE OCTOBER 7 TREATY CONSIDER THAT CSCE HAS BROUGHT AN END TO WORLD WAR II. THE CLEAR INTENT OF THE NEW TREATY, THEREFORE, IS TO REMOVE FROM THE PUBLIC RECORD THE EARLIER AIM, ENSHRINED IN THE 1955 AND 1964 TREATIES, FOR A GERMAN PEACE TREATY AND GERMAN REUNIFICATION.

NEVERTHELESS, IT APPEARS THAT THE EARLIER GDR/USSR TREATIES HAVE NOT BEEN FORMALLY INVALIDATED, BUT RATHER THAT THEY HAVE BEEN SUPPLEMENTED BY THE OCTOBER 7 . TREATY. FINALLY, IN INITIALLING THE NEW TREATY, THE GDR AND USSR SEEM TO HAVE ESTABLISHED THEMSELVES AS PACEMAKERS IN EASTERN EUROPEAN COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION. END TEXT.  
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